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CLASS OF 1830

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FOR BOOKS RELATING TO
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GIN, DANGERS,
AND DUTIES

1865



area, understood) besides Latin, Greek & Hebrew five of the
European languages - a prof. of Mathematics - preacher - &
etc - and now preparing - or qualifying himself to teach ar

Blyden, Edward W.

OUR ORIGIN, DANGERS, AND DUTIES.

THE

ANNUAL ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

MAYOR AND COMMON COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF MONROVIA,

JULY 26, 1865,

The Day of National Independence;

AND REPEATED

ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 1, 1865, AT CALDWELL, ST. PAUL'S RIVER.

BY

REV. EDWARD W. BLYDEN, A.M.,

PROFESSOR IN LIBERIA COLLEGE. —

New-York :

JOHN A. GRAY & GREEN, PRINTERS, 16 AND 18 JACOB STREET.

1865.



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Hon Charles Sumner
Class of 1830.

TO THE
Hon. DANIEL B. WARNER

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA,

THIS ADDRESS IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

As a Memorial

OF LONG-STANDING AND INTIMATE FRIENDSHIP,

AND OF SINCERE ADMIRATION

FOR

EARNEST, SELF-DENYING, AND UNOSTENTATIOUS PATRIOTISM,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

CALDWELL, ST. PAUL'S RIVER,

August 2, 1865.

DEAR SIR:

We have the honor to forward to you the following resolutions, passed at the meeting of the citizens of Lower Caldwell, on the first instant, before which you kindly repeated your Address, delivered at Monrovia on the 26th of July, the National day.

On motion, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the thanks of the meeting be tendered to Hon. EDWARD W. BLYDEN, for the repetition of his very able and instructive Address.

Resolved, That, the meeting being convinced that a diffusion of, the patriotic sentiments of the Address is calculated to do great good, a committee of three be appointed, to solicit a copy of it for publication.

Hoping that you will comply with the request of the meeting,

We remain, respectfully yours,

Colonel ISAAC LAWRENCE,	}	Committee.
Capt. SAMUEL S. POWERS,		
Hon. H. W. JOHNSON,		

To the Hon. EDWARD W. BLYDEN,

Secretary of State, Monrovia.

ADDRESS.

TO-DAY we celebrate the eighteenth anniversary of the Independence of Liberia. We are entering upon the nineteenth year of our national career. Amid various discouragements and difficulties, joys and sorrows—in sunshine and shadow—we have held on our way. We are laying the foundations of empire on this coast. We are inaugurating what others must take up and continue. With all our failings and deficiencies, we are obviously the agents in the hand of the great Ruler in doing an important work. Well, how should the day be spent?

If we had thoroughly solved the problem to which we are committed; if we had firmly established a nation; if we had fairly demonstrated our capacity to achieve and maintain sovereignty and independence; if the mass of our people had risen to the dignity of superior and cultivated life; if we had exalted the general tone and character of the tribes around us; if we were united by the sympathy of one feeling and of one interest; if all asperity and bitterness and ignorant jealousies were unknown among us, and we lived in the warmth and glow of one common cordiality; if, superior to local or individual prejudices, we were combining our energies and our means for the benefit of the whole country; if we were daily developing a stronger

attachment to the cause of race, and a more determined zeal for the upbuilding of an African nationality; if we had effectually silenced the cavils of adversaries; then we might devote the day to unbounded festivity; then we could afford to impose no check upon our feelings of gladness and joy. But when we review the years during which we have been numbered among the nations, and see how far behind we are in all the elements of abiding prosperity and usefulness; how little we have done for the cause of Africa's regeneration; how small the quota we have contributed to the comfort and happiness of mankind; this should be to us a day of earnest and solemn thoughtfulness, as well as of joyous demonstrations.

The question is still agitated: "Is Liberia a permanent fact, or will it, after all, prove a failure?" This is a time when, in the opinion of some, both citizens and foreigners, a serious crisis has arrived in the history of Liberia. I propose, therefore, to recall your attention to THE ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, AND TO SOME OF THE DANGERS WHICH THREATEN OUR NATIONAL EXISTENCE.

Now that it has ceased to be fashionable or necessary on the part of the friends of Liberia to magnify her virtues; and on the part of her enemies it has become useless to exaggerate her failings; and when it must be evident to every one who has, for the last ten years, watched the current of Liberian history that her success rests upon a very different foundation from that furnished by the panegyrics of her friends abroad, and that her progress can not be impeded by any obstacles thrown into her way by her enemies, it is rendered possible to take a candid view of ourselves, without, as some have heretofore supposed, endangering our exist-

ence. We can afford to look at a true picture of ourselves without experiencing, it is to be hoped, any other feeling than one of stimulation to effort.

The foundation of Liberia was laid under circumstances peculiar in the history of the world. The emigrants were urged to these shores by motives far different from those which led to the founding of other colonies. They were not a restless people, who, finding their advancement to wealth and honors in their native country too slow for their ambitious and enterprising minds, resolved to accelerate their dilatory fortunes beneath a foreign sky. They were not persons who had once been in a condition of opulence and splendor, and who, having fallen by luxury and extravagance into penury and disrepute, sought new scenes to repair their shattered fortunes. They were not politicians adhering to some new principle in politics deemed by them all-important, and seeking some new field for its untrammelled exercise and fair development. They were not the victims of religious persecution fleeing from the horrors of an enthralled conscience. No. Had they belonged to any of these classes, they might, perhaps, have contented themselves with cultivating small farms and reaping slow gains; they might have taken fresh courage, and, by patient industry, restored measurably their dilapidated fortunes; they might have changed their political or theological views, rather than brave the dangers and undergo the privations of founding a home, and residing in a country proverbial for its unhealthy and dangerous climate. But they belonged to none of these classes. They were a peculiar people. They were those who themselves or whose ancestors had been, in the providence of God, suffered to be carried away from heathenism into slavery among a civil-

ized and Christian people; and who, from the degradation necessarily attached in all countries to those in any way related to slaves, could not rise. The force of circumstances over which they had no control kept them down—hopelessly down. They felt the depression; they saw its causes. They felt the deteriorating effects of these causes upon their minds and the minds of their children. And they found that it was useless to contend against these unfavorable influences. They saw clearly that to remain in that land and contend against what they could have no reasonable hope of overcoming, would be no more than “beating the air.” They, therefore, concluded that it would be wisdom in them, if they desired to possess a home for themselves and their children, where they might enjoy those rights and immunities which their neighbors enjoyed, to direct their attention to some other scene. Earnestly did they look abroad for some “asylum from the deep degradation.” At length the West Coast of Africa was fixed upon as offering the greatest inducement for the settlement of Africans. They left the land of their birth, forsook the scenes and associations of their childhood, and came, with hearts heavy and distressed, to this far-off and barbarous shore—*forced*, by irresistible circumstances, from their native country in their poverty and ignorance, to seek a home where to be of African descent would involve no disgrace.

They came, having *seen* their operations, but never having studied or learned the moral and political principles which prevailed in their native land. They came then to found a home with nothing more to depend upon than the capabilities of memory to recall what they had seen and heard. They came to imitate words and actions, for they could not practice and inculcate prin-

ciples. Their knowledge, such as it was, consisted of vague generalities.

And then they had no brilliant ancestry from whose magnificent achievements they could gather inspiration. All the past was dark to them. No sacred bard sung to them of the exploits of their fathers. There may have been great men in their ancestral land to which, as perfect strangers, they were now returning; illustrious deeds may have been performed; but alas! no poet had recorded them. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*, etc.*

“ In vain the chief’s, the sage’s pride;
They had no poet, and they died;
In vain they planned, in vain they bled;
They had no poet, and are dead.”†

Such were the people who came to establish Liberia; such the circumstances under which Liberia was founded.

How different from these were the circumstances under which other colonies were founded! The colonies that went out from Phenicia, and planted the foundations of empire on the shores of the Mediterranean, did not consist of the ignorant and degraded of Phenicia. No; they were among the noblest of their native land. They were *Phenicians*; had drunk deeply of the spirit of Phenicia; had been moulded as to their views and principles in Phenician mould; they, therefore, transferred the principles and feelings of the mother country at once to the new lands where they took up their abode; and soon Carthage arose, rivaling Rome, the “mistress of the world.” “The colonies that went out from Greece to occupy the maritime regions of Asia Minor, carried with them the love of the arts, of literature, and

* Horace, Lib. IV. Ode 9.

† Pope.

of liberty, which distinguished Corinth and Athens; and Ionia became merely a reflected image of what Attica and Achaia and Argolis had been."

The colonists who landed at Plymouth Rock, at Salem, at Boston—who settled Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South-Carolina, were not the degraded of Europe. No; they were among the best of that country. The foundation of the United States was laid by Aristocrats, Puritans, Quakers, Cavaliers, and Churchmen. They carried over from Europe books, and built churches and founded colleges almost simultaneously. What nation would not now be proud of so distinguished an ancestry?

For the first twenty-five years of their residence in this country, the people of Liberia had no independent national existence. The American Colonization Society, which founded the colony, held political power over the people; appointed, from time to time, white agents to reside among them as governors; suggested, formed, or sanctioned such laws as governed them; paid their government officers; erected their public buildings, and constructed their public works; leaving to the people no other care than that of educing from the soil or other sources their own private living, and of protecting themselves against the onsets of their savage neighbors. Under such circumstances, it was not likely that a people of the character we have described above would form those habits of thoughtfulness and industry, cultivate that spirit of freedom and independence, or acquire that energy, determination, and ability to surmount difficulties, so essential to national growth and prosperity. By the unreserved supply of all their natural wants by foreigners, their attention was abstracted from the public interests, and confined within

the narrow sphere of their own personal and domestic concerns. They saw that the government was in operation without their assistance, and felt satisfied to enjoy untroubled repose. No opportunity was afforded for the development of that large-heartedness and public spirit which is the life of nascent communities.

But as the territory of Liberia increased by purchase of land from the natives, questions arose which interfered with the political tranquillity of the colonists—differences arose between Liberians and foreigners, which could be adjusted only by a convention of sovereign powers. The colony, having no connection with any independent government, was obliged to submit to numerous insults and impositions offered by foreigners, who, aware of the peculiar and defenseless condition of the country, took all the advantage which circumstances enabled them to take. To the Liberians, then, there remained only the alternative of submitting to the humiliating treatment or of putting themselves in a position to stop it. The latter they could do only by assuming an independent form of government. The matter was, for some time, earnestly discussed by the people. Among the leading men there was but one opinion as to the necessity of the assumption of sovereign rights. And outrages perpetrated upon Liberian merchants just about that time, for which no redress could be obtained, hastened the decisive step. The people, by their representatives, met in convention to consider this important matter, and, in thirty days presented to the world a Constitution and a Declaration of Independence. Liberia was declared to be “a free, sovereign, and independent State.”

Every nation and every people has its peculiar work to perform, and each for itself must find out the work

to be done and the best methods and instrumentalities of prosecuting it. Any one who has studied the history of nations, whether ancient or modern, cannot fail to perceive that there has never been an unchanging uniformity, but change and variety, according to circumstances, has characterized them. And even where one community has gone forth from another, all the peculiarities of the parent country have not been retained. New views have been formed and new principles have developed themselves from the very novelty of the circumstances and relations in which the people have been placed.

In the political history of Liberia, however, there has been no striking novelty, nothing remarkable or peculiar. In the absence of regular educational training, or of large experience and practice in political matters, the people have not been able to elaborate any system adapted to their own peculiar condition and circumstances. Compelled to depend for their information almost wholly upon the example of the United States and other advanced countries, they have followed, with unvarying step, most of their practices, without possessing the mature wisdom to detect, or the boldness to repudiate, such features in the political system of those countries as conflict with the prosperity of a rising community.

The people of Liberia and their fathers were, for the most part, born and nursed under republicanism; a republicanism, it is true, which, in its influence upon them as a people, was anomalous. They know, experimentally, no other form of government. All the associations of their childhood and youth, social, political, and religious, are republican. They have seen the workings of republicanism, and they have felt its power. They know its advantages, they know its disadvantages;

they know its uses, they know its abuses. For them, therefore, a people that must act from imitation, without the ability to be, in any great degree, original, a republican is the best, the only form of government. The history and traditions of the people point to this form. Indeed, any attempt to have organized a different form would have been useless and absurd.

But circumstances, as I have just shown, forced us rather suddenly into an independent position. What other nations have achieved only after years and years of trial, we effected within a very brief period; and, consequently, we see among us all the fruits of a hasty development. All peoples need to pass through a period of discipline and pupilage before they can really enjoy and manage liberty and independence. The United States, after which we have modeled our government, had one hundred and fifty years of colonial discipline and subordination. National character is a thing of slow formation. Nations advance by minute and inappreciable gradations. They seldom reach solidity and greatness by rapid transition. Like children, they require the training of arbitrary rules and the restraints of arbitrary regulations before they are fitted for the freedom and guidance of principles. They must first have tutors, guardians, and masters before they are fitted to enjoy the liberty of choice and action. And we can scarcely find a nation of any respectability and power which was not brought to social and political order by protracted subjection to other nations. Was not this the discipline to which God subjected his own chosen nation, the Jews.

But *we* were suddenly ushered into liberty and independence. Our government was hurriedly formed; and now, after some years' experience, we see the deficien

cies of our organization. We have all the responsibilities of men without having passed through the preparation of childhood ; and hence we see among the people generally all that impatience under whatever would curb their own arbitrary will, which we see in spoiled children. They are willing to submit to nothing which opposes their transient passion or caprice. Their own way they must have, which is often fatal alike to dignity, to justice, and to sound and steady policy. And we could wish that this disposition to follow their own arbitrary volition were confined to the people in irresponsible gatherings. We could wish that these vacillating fancies and selfish impulses did not often infest assemblies among us of high and grave responsibility !

And we are almost powerless to remedy these things. It is exceedingly difficult to get the masses to surrender any portion of what they conceive to be their rights and privileges. It is almost impossible to get them interested in abstract subjects. They care for nothing that does not obviously or very immediately affect their own personal and particular interests. To declamations concerning personal rights and the privilege of every man to fill the highest position, they are abundantly sensitive, because these subjects offer a most visible and quickly-felt connection with their interests. And hence it is, that democracy, in its rampant form, will ever, or for a very long time, in Liberia, draw a certain portion of respect and reverence around it ; and most vociferous testimony of abhorrence will always be heard against every thing that may be classed under the general designation of *anti-republicanism*.

It is in vain that we point to the evils which our way of holding to republicanism brings upon the country ; how the frequency of elections and the violence of

party spirit break up the peace and enjoyment and even virtue of the country; that if these things were discontinued, there would be a wonderful augmentation of the political, social, and industrial good of the community. The benefits and advantages which we point out are remote, and the people remain unaffected or are roused to antagonism. On the other hand, they are told of the reasonableness and justice of placing the same rights and privileges within the reach of all; of the danger of intrusting power too long to any one man. The idea of equality is impressed upon them; and, yielding to the pleasurable illusions under which they are placed, they are prepared to listen, with the most complacent toleration, to those who go to them with such teachings; while the voice of execration is raised against every thing that seems to be in opposition to the lessons of liberty which they have learned.

I would not say a word here to-day against a correct republicanism. I believe that this craving in men for some deep and eternal principle of free, equal, and fraternal government is an inspiration from above; but whether this principle is fully attainable under the present conditions of humanity—and especially among a youthful, untrained people like ourselves—is another question.

We have every thing too common among us. On account of the widespread and leveling equality which we are taught is our birthright, much, if not all, the reverence due to our rulers is taken away. There is not that feeling of subordination in the people which is necessary for wholesome growth and salutary progress. And if there be no modification of our laws so as to remedy this evil, the time is not far distant when acrimonious conflicts will not be confined to times of

election ; but law will be made a secondary thing, and popular violence and prejudice will be paramount. Let those then who know better endeavor to instill into the masses the apostolic principle : " Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God."

We find in the history of all nations that reverence and awe for superior power in the state have been the most efficient instrument in leading them from barbarism to civilization—in teaching them civil and social order. It was thus that God himself taught his ancient people, the Jews. He gave them Moses, with his *mysterious rod*. When imparting the law which was to govern Israel, he spoke to Moses in a *thick cloud*, whilst the cloud sent forth thunder and lightning. And we find a similar method adopted by the ancient heathen legislators. " Minos, the legislator of the Cretans, pretended to have, every nine years, communions with Jupiter in a cavern. Lycurgus, the legislator of the Lacedæmonians, raised his influence by an oracle of Apollo. Numa, Rome's second king, supported his authority by a feigned intercourse with the nymph Egeria, who he said instructed him in a grotto near her fountain. Zamolxis, the lawgiver of the Getæ, ascribed his wisdom to Vesta. Odin carried constantly with him the embalmed head of Mimez, to whom he imputed oracular inspirations. Manko-Kopak spread the belief that he descended from the sun, in order to enlighten Peru's people. Mohammed listened to the wisdom, which his dove whispered into his ear. Sertorius, in Lusitania, followed the secret suggestions of his hind."* All these extraordinary men understood well

* Stollberg's History of Religion, (ii. p. 58,) quoted by Kalisch.

that a certain mysterious authority was needed to train men up to order and regularity.

Do we not see the same principle in operation among the natives around us? Is it not the influence of the "devil-bush"—their sacred grove—or Oro, or some other superstition, around which more or less of mystery gathers, that keeps in such complete subordination the countless numbers of unenlightened men on this continent? The traveler in Europe sees, even to this day, relics of the ancient paraphernalia, the "pomp and circumstance" by which the masses were trained into reverence for their rulers.

And is it not thus that God rules the world? Does He not

—"move in a mysterious way,
His wonders to perform"?

With all the boasted triumphs of science, there is still helpless ignorance in man. He has to be guided by the day and by the hour. In many things there seems to be an astounding arbitrariness; but man is obliged to be mute. He is not allowed to vote on matters even that immediately concern himself, his country, or his race. He sees in the physical world things that seem unwise and injurious, but he is obliged to submit—whole tracts of country rendered insalubrious and fetid by extensive marshes and swamps. He sees in certain portions of the earth thousands of miles given up to barren sands. In the moral world he finds that some portions are blessed with all the elevating and enlightening influences—with the reviving presence of literature and the arts; while others, entirely unvisited by the quickening power of knowledge, remain from age to age in the condition of moral wastes, barren as the Sahara, or rife only with weeds and

thorns. He cannot tell by what law these things are arranged, much less can he procure its repeal. He is obliged to content himself with the melancholy reverie of the poet :

“ Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark, unfathomed caves of ocean bear ;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its fragrance on the desert air.”

Thus mysteriously has the divine Monarch chosen to govern this world. Should we not in Liberia endeavor, in some little measure, to follow the method he has indicated ? If we do not, we shall linger in the road to national independence and respectability.

But not only do we not follow this method, but we even reverse and vulgarize the idea of republicanism, which we profess to have adopted. Republicanism establishes a political equality—that is to say, abolishes all classes, ranks, castes—conferring upon all citizens the enjoyment of unlimited liberty and full scope for the development of all their powers. In this kind of government, no barrier excludes the poorest from rising, by the power of intellect and industry, to the highest position ; the idea being, that merit should be duly rewarded in whomsoever exhibited. But, as I have said, we have reversed the principle. We have put *Because* in the place of *Although*. We seem to hold that men should occupy high and responsible places *because* they are poor and in humble circumstances. With us the argument seems to be, that the Abraham Lincolns and Andrew Johnsons should be raised to the highest authority *because* they are rail-splitters and tailors. But that is not the idea. The idea in which we should glory is not that men are made rulers and exalted to the highest dignity *because* they belong to the

humbler classes, but rather that, *although* belonging to the humbler classes, they *may* be elevated if they manifest talent and prove meritorious.

A correct republicanism does not claim that all men are intellectually and morally equal; on the contrary, it teaches that only men of merit should be elevated, and in proportion to their merit. But all men have not merit, nor do those who have, possess it in the same degree—hence inequality; and a true republicanism is discriminating. The journeymen who worked in the shop with Andrew Johnson have not been heard of—and why not, if Johnson was raised *because* he was a *tailor*; they were tailors as well as he; but it happens that they were tailors, and *nothing more*.

To talk of all men being in every respect equal, is simply to indulge in an idle dream. But, despite all theory and speculation, nature will have its way. We must be content for those to rise whom nature has gifted. Envy and jealousy are foolish things. A man will go to the place for which his natural force fits him. Because I or my relative cannot achieve what another can, must I, therefore, envy that other and try to pull him down? If Lord Derby's language be correct, such a course is "worse than a crime—a blunder."* Would it not be wiser in me to endeavor to discharge faithfully my own duty in the sphere to which it has pleased God to call me? God calls men to their ability and station in life. No man can determine his own force of mind. He may by industry and perseverance greatly improve its scope and capacity; but he can no more determine its original, native bent, than he can determine his own stature. It is a "gross

* Speech in the House of Lords, on the assassination of President Lincoln May 1, 1865.

blunder," then, to fret and worry about another's gifts and talents, and fail to improve our own. This is very important for us to bear in mind in Liberia; for we are all sons of Zebedee, all anxious to sit some on the right, and others on the left of majesty.

The present condition of affairs in Liberia seems to force upon us the duty of revising a defective Constitution. An experience of eighteen years has developed to us the errors which are detrimental to our national character, and endangering to the perpetuity of our institutions. We are convinced that, socially, politically, and religiously, we cannot long endure at the current rate. But while this is the case, still, as long as the laws continue what they are, they are binding upon us. We must not consent to take lessons in morals from those who teach that laws may be set aside, whenever it suits our convenience to do so. There may be laws which our judgment may condemn, against which our feelings may revolt; but until they are repealed or annulled in the legal way, we are bound to respect and obey them.

Our Constitution needs various amendments. It is of very great importance that the utmost care should be exercised in interfering with the fundamental law of the land; but we must not attach to it such mysterious and unapproachable sacredness as to imagine that it must not be interfered with at all, even when circumstances plainly reveal to us the necessity of such interference. The Constitution is only a written document, and, like all written documents—especially those written under the circumstances to which I have adverted—it has many errors and omissions. It becomes us, then, who long for the prosperity of our country calmly and deliberately to examine and consider such

defects as may exist in that most important paper, and set ourselves to the work of remedying them to the best of our ability. It is the people's Constitution, and it is the work of the people to correct its deficiencies.

The first point to which I would call your attention as needing amendment, is that relating to the Presidential term of office. I believe that most of the thinking men in Liberia agree that the President should be elected for a longer term than two years. My own opinion is, that the chief magistrate should be elected for a term of six or eight years, and not be immediately reëligible. If we could bring to pass such an amendment—electing the President for a longer term, and forbidding his immediate reëlection—then we should doubtless get Presidents who, during their terms, would devote their attention to statesmanship—to such measures as pertain to the public weal, and not to electioneering expedients; and the country would be delivered from the frequent recurrence of convulsing political conflicts. In all cases where reëlection is possible, the magistrate in office is placed in the position of a candidate. He is tempted, especially as his term of office draws near its end, to direct his administration mainly with a view to secure popular favor. Thus instead of statesmen we have electioneers as presidents. In many of the ancient commonwealths reëlection was forbidden; in Achaia, the general could not serve for two successive years; at Rome, it was at no time lawful for the same man to be consul for two years together, and at one time it was forbidden for a man who had once been consul ever to be consul again.*

* *National Review*, (London,) November, 1864.

A second amendment needed in our Constitution, is one which shall involve the rescinding of the clause conferring upon the President the power of dismissing government *employés* indiscriminately, at his pleasure. There are some offices that ought to be subject to his control, but they are only a few. The practice of dismissing all officials at every change of government is a most prolific source of mischief. This practice did not prevail in the United States government when it was as youthful as we are. "Up to the time of General Jackson, in 1829, all the government *employés*, civil and military, with a very few specified exceptions, held office, as in England, during life and good behavior; were never removed for their political opinions, and never changed with any change of administration. By the Constitution, the control over all these offices, as well as the appointment to them, was vested in the chief executive, the sanction of the Senate being required in only a few cases; but it is worthy of remark that this absolute power over the government *employés* was only conferred upon the President after long discussion, and by a very narrow majority. The clause affirming it only passed the Senate by the casting vote of the vice-president; and in the long debates that it gave rise to, the idea that any chief of the State could so far disgrace himself and damage the community as to abuse the power conferred for personal or electioneering purposes, was scouted as an insult and a chimera. Nor was it abused until the advent of General Jackson, who broached the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils." During Washington's eight years of administration, he only removed *nine* persons from office; one, a foreign minister, at the instance of the French Directory; the other eight for cause as-

signed. Politics had nothing to do with any of the cases. Adams also removed *nine* subordinate officers, but none for political reasons. Jefferson removed *thirty-nine*, but, as he solemnly declared, and was ready to prove, not one of them because their political opinions differed from his own. Madison made *five* removals; Monroe, *none*; John Quincy Adams, *only two*. But General Jackson was no sooner inaugurated than he *dismissed from office nearly every man who had opposed him, or whose friends had voted for his opponent, and replaced them by partisans of his own*. The number thus removed was variously stated; his enemies mentioned *two thousand*; his friends admitted *six hundred and ninety*. Chief Justice Story specifies eight in the diplomatic corps; thirty-six in the executive department; one hundred and ninety in other civil departments, besides four hundred and ninety-one post-masters."

"It is impossible to exaggerate the ruinous results which must flow from such a course of proceeding—a course which, once inaugurated, must almost necessarily be continued, since its adoption by one party or one President compels its imitation by the antagonistic faction, as a measure at once of justice and of self-defense. Accordingly, ever since the time of Jackson, the plan of wholesale removals has been pursued in the United States, and is now the common practice. At each presidential election all the places in the gift of the government, from the highest to the lowest, change hands. The consequences are manifold and all-mischievous. *First*, few men can obtain any skill or experience in their offices, and the official capacity of the civil service must be deplorably impaired. *Secondly*, every man, knowing that he has only a four

years', or, at most, and by every exertion, an eight years' tenure of office, will be inclined to 'feather his nest' as fast and as daringly as he can. *Thirdly*, it renders it impossible for men of intelligence, ability, and virtue, who wish for a reasonable permanence and a decent independence, to become servants of the state. Office necessarily falls into the hands of a very third-rate class of men. One American writer sums the matter up by the assertion that, in the year of our Lord 1859, the fact of a man's holding (removable) office under the United States government, is presumptive evidence that he is one of three characters, namely, an adventurer, an incompetent person, or a scoundrel."*

Another mistake in our Constitution and laws is the arrangement which causes several months to elapse between the election of the President and his inauguration—from *May* to *January*—which gives his predecessor, if he be of an opposing party, a long time during which to carry out his party views. We have had in the United States, recently, a serious illustration of the evil growing out of such an arrangement; though *there* the interval between the election and the inauguration is much shorter than with us. As soon as the result of the election of 1860 was ascertained, putting the Republican party in power, the Southerners in office at Washington, of secession tendencies, deliberately and treacherously employed all the resources of their official position to prepare the way for secession. Mr. Buchanan and his ministers had always been attached to the party of the South, and put forth no decisive effort against it. It is known that the Southern officials purposely distributed the fleet of the

* *National Review*, April, 1861.

Union in distant countries, placed stores of artillery where Southern rebels could easily take them, purposely disorganized the Federal army. They took care that Mr. Lincoln, when he reached the White House, should find the treasury empty, the arsenal disarmed, or under the control of enemies, and all important posts and strongholds in hostile hands. By the discreet arrangement of the Constitution, the whole executive influence and the whole military force were placed in the hands of the dissatisfied minority.*

Our arrangement is still more alarmingly defective, for, instead of four months, as in the United State, we allow fully eight months to the dissentient minority to carry out their purposes. This is a defect that calls loudly for immediate remedy.

I bring these things before you to-day, fellow-citizens, for your solemn and serious consideration. But I am afraid, as I have already intimated, that we are helplessly and almost hopelessly bound to our first mistakes. It is seldom that a democracy voluntarily retraces its steps, or rectifies its own errors; and the reason is, that to bring about change, appeal must be made to the people, and the people, as we have already stated, cannot readily be made to see what their real interests are. They are jealous of every proposed change, looking upon it as an effort to restrict their power and to curtail the excesses of their liberty.)

But the changes to which I have referred are obviously needed. If we make them, we shall advance in comfort and prosperity at home, and be respected abroad; if we do not make them, we shall be blighted

* See Bancroft's Oration on Lincoln, New-York, April, 1865, and *National Review*, 1861.

by frequent social and political disturbances, and continued deterioration.

These changes, as I have said, depend upon the will of the people; but we must remember that the people cannot be brow-beaten into them. They have to be reasoned with and convinced by patient and persevering argument. The enterprise of persuading and convincing them deserves the utmost exertion of true patriots. The reward with which such efforts will be crowned is no less than the emancipation of the body politic from fatally injurious influences, and the introduction among us of salutary conditions of national existence, under which we may go on prospering and to prosper. As our population increases, Liberia will become a good deal more difficult to manage, unless those who are informed bestir themselves to diffuse information among the people. When we were a much younger and smaller people, our success depended greatly upon the individual character of the rulers, and not so much upon the Constitution and influences of society; but now that we have come forward before the world, and assumed so important a position as an independent nation, having numerous treaties with foreign nations, receiving and accrediting diplomatic officers, it becomes the people to be generally informed, to reflect upon their position. The resources, intellectual and moral, of the individual citizen are called into requisition. Our success now depends upon the virtue and vigor of the people, and upon no one man or set of men. And we must bear in mind that a large number of our people have not yet fully comprehended their position in this country. The fact cannot be disguised that many were brought to these shores by the "love of liberty," in its most ordinary acceptance.

Their desire to emigrate to this country did not arise from a love of independence—it did not spring from, an earnest longing for the functions of self-government, but merely from a vague and uneasy desire to be freed from certain physical restraints and proscriptions in the land of their birth. These people have to be taught. Correct lessons of freedom must be imparted to them. They should be impressed with a sense of personal obligation to the country, and of individual responsibility; otherwise they will be an insurmountable stumbling-block in the way of all national advancement and all enlightened civilization.

I know that in the case of many who are really interested in the prosperity of the country, and in properly instructing the masses, there is a reluctance to go among them, on account of the unworthy motives which are so readily assigned; but this reluctance must be overcome by a sense of duty; and, though at every step there is a feeling of oppression, we are bound to persevere in doing that which we believe to be for the good of the country.

Now there are evidently two classes of citizens in Liberia. One, in intelligence and sentiment, is, perhaps, above the other. But while the one with its high-wrought delicacy and sensitiveness is lamenting over the downward tendency of things, the other is putting forth every possible exertion to promote those ends which, in its estimation, are for the welfare of the country. The one sits brooding in indolence, in visionary gloom over the hopeless departure of the days of yore; the other steps abroad and uses its influence in country and in town, to turn the current of affairs into the channel which it conceives to be desirable. The one is capricious and spasmodic; the other is vigilant

and unceasingly active. The one delights in conceiving plans; the other labors to carry its purposes into execution. The one is always doleful in its prophecies as to the country's future, whenever things do not go exactly to suit it; the other is cheerful and buoyant in its feelings, and always hopeful in its expressions.

Now it is not difficult to see which of these classes will be more influential in the country. A man may possess the wisdom of Solon, he may have as many eyes as Argus, or as many arms as Briareus, what will it all avail if he never put forth any exertion? What avails his correctness of sentiment, his soundness of views, if it never go out into action—if it never urge him to the accomplishment of any act for the good of his country—if, notwithstanding all his fine impressions, he shrink from activity, from fatigue, from exertion to disseminate his views?

No: we shall never be able to conduct the affairs of this country as they should be conducted until more general interest is felt in keeping the body of the people properly informed. They must be visited by the more enlightened. The true condition of the country must be represented to them. Their love of country must be awakened. They must be made to feel that their assistance and coöperation is required in the work of erecting this nationality. This is the duty of us all. If we accept democracy, we must accept it with these inconveniences. If men, holding what they regard as correct views, do not trouble themselves to set them before the people, they must not be surprised to find the field occupied and cultivated by others, who, if less orthodox, are more vigilant, active, and persevering. We must not be content to stand off and oppose, or chill with indifference proposed reforms, and after they

are accomplished then gladly accept them. We must take part in the strife and struggle. It may be that the habits of some of us may disqualify us for this work. We may have no time for it. We may not know how to demean ourselves in such business; our want of practice and experience may disable us for the work of managing visitations among the people. But if this form of government is to be perpetuated by us, we must try to acquire the requisite habits. We should, each in his own sphere, qualify ourselves for a judicious, and discriminating, and enlightening intercourse with the people. And so long as this is not done by us, we should be very careful how we utter our vehement condemnation against those who perform this work to the best of their ability. For my own part, I cannot condemn this practice in the abstract. We cannot afford to lose this spirit in Liberia. There is already too little of it; and what we see forms too gratifying and refreshing an exception to that general selfishness and isolation which pervades our communities for me to say one word against it; on the contrary, I conceive that it would be cold-blooded inappreciation for me to withhold from such a spirit and temper the tribute of my respect and hearty concurrence.

What I condemn and deprecate—and what we must all condemn and deprecate—is that mean and contemptible practice of going among the masses for the purpose of intentionally misrepresenting the doings or views of an opposing party. I think that this practice is the usual resource of the idle and vicious. Whenever I hear of any one's doing this, if he is a farmer, I conclude that he is unthrifty and indolent; if he is a mechanic, that he is not skillful in his trade; if a merchant, that he is not respectable in his business; if he

can afford to live without work, that he is not possessed of much dignity of mind or of character.

Yes, we must condemn that frivolous and thoughtless habit of indulging in inflammatory remarks, whether in public or private, against the authorities. I say frivolous and thoughtless habit, because the men who make such remarks have no idea whatever of carrying them out; but yet they have their effect for evil. Some poor excitable individual may be listening, who may carry out in action what these careless babblers intend to end only in words, but to which, from a want of cautious and reflecting prudence, they give a fictitious weight. "The tongue," we are told, "is an unruly evil, full of *deadly poison*." The mischief which the tongue has done and may do, is beyond calculation. A single word dropped into the ear may leave a venom behind to work and rankle and inflame the heart, to fever human existence, and to poison human society at the fountain-springs of life."*

If we could trace to their origin some of the blackest deeds that have ever disgraced history, we should find them taking their rise in thoughtless and unguarded words. It is not always the men who deal in furious and turbulent invectives—who are always ready to obtrude their offensive temper and opinions upon others—it is not they who enact the daring deeds of history. No: such deeds are generally done by obscure individuals, who brood in dismal silence over the violent and intemperate language they hear. It was no doubt the inflammatory speeches of the Southern fire-eaters, and their Northern sympathizers, which produced that monster of modern times, John Wilkes

* Robertson's Sermons.

Booth. They gave the acts of Mr. Lincoln so dark and malignant a coloring, and held up his character to such infamy and reprobation, that Booth, having every sentiment of justice perverted, and every feeling of patriotism crushed, felt justified in perpetrating a deed which has sent a thrill of horror and indignation into the remotest corner of the civilized world. "I thought I was doing for the best," were among the last utterances of the deluded wretch.

Let us take warning, fellow-citizens; for, in consequence of the increasing violence of party spirit, we are drifting to a state of things in which just such a character might arise. We are fast hastening to that point when our government will be no longer a government of the people—but a government of party. The people are beginning to think no longer in a free, honest, natural manner. We seem to be losing our individuality. Every thing is party. Principle is losing that free play which it once had. Every thing is opposed or favored from a party stand-point.

It is not to party that I object; for I believe that the existence of two honest, earnest, zealous, active political parties in the community is wholesome. But what is lamentable, is the party *spirit* manifesting itself among us—discoloring or coloring every action to suit itself. There is not an act, however virtuous and honorable, which may not be distorted to suit party purposes. Party spirit is always ready to give currency to every thing that will injure its opponent. It is always ready to draw hasty inferences. Instead of checking a mischievous and injurious report, it is always ready to put forth all its efforts to give it activity and circulation. The good intentions of a man cannot shield him from the most violent attacks. Be-

- fore any action is judged, it is turned wrong side out, and the most malignant construction of which it is susceptible is attached to it. Thus one party is ever doing the grossest injustice to the other; and nothing seems more to delight a bitter partisan than to be engaged in sending through the country a tale of detraction against his opponent.

Now, I would earnestly appeal to you, fellow-citizens, and ask whether we, as rational men, just founding a nation, should be content to go on at this rate? These things are sapping the foundations of society. Every man is becoming distrustful of his neighbor. That mutual confidence, which is the surest guarantee of strength and prosperity, is becoming most fearfully impaired. Oh! let us resolve, from this day, to withdraw our countenance from all violent party feeling, and cultivate a spirit of charity and brotherly kindness.

But there is a disposition, the opposite of party spirit, which is, if possible, still more reprehensible. It is that careless, listless living for one's self—caring for nothing that does not come immediately in contact with one's personal interests—persons who do no positive harm—a kind of easy, good-for-nothing people. There are those among us who profess to be utterly indifferent as to what happens. For their own individual part, they know that they will come off about as well as any one else. These are men who live for themselves; and they are the most contemptible of characters. They are “neither cold nor hot.” They have no pride of country, and no love of race. Dante, the great Italian master of song, tells us, that for such persons, when they die, there is no place in heaven or hell. They have their lot among those angels who, in

the great war in heaven, did not join the rebel angels, neither were faithful to God, but preferred their own ease—*they were for themselves alone*. The impetuous contempt which the poet felt for such characters, is perceived better in the original than in any English translation :

Cacciarli i ciel per non esser men belli
Nè lo profondo inferno gli riceve,
Che alcuno gloria i rei avrebber d'elli.*

Inferno, Canto III.

No; we can not, we must not, in matters pertaining to the national welfare, maintain a base neutrality. We must, as a holy and solemn duty, labor to benefit our country. We must not content ourselves with joining the general depreciation and lamentation concerning national decline and ruin. We must, we are in duty bound, to do all we can, by earnest effort and self-denial, to arrest the downward tendency of things. The love of country is a virtue. We are bound to seek its honor and its welfare. We are under the strongest obligations to live, labor, and suffer in its behalf.

And we must cultivate *pride* of race. Longfellow has sung of the "dead past;" but we must allow him such an assertion as a poetic privilege. In *reality*, the past is *not* dead. It still lives in activity, and is wonderful in its influence upon the present. The child is father to the man. Our antecedents often exert a most depressing influence upon us. We have been so cruelly oppressed, that we have, in a great measure, lost our self-respect. Almost any little untoward event will scare us into the belief that we cannot suc-

* "Heaven chased them forth to keep its beauty from impair; and the deep hell receives them not, for the wicked would have some glory over them."—*Carlyle's translation*.

ceed in our undertaking on this coast. But we must endeavor to shake off the influence of the past. We must have faith in the negro race.

There is something within us, a God-like principle ever whispering to us the lessons of self-government, and telling us of our sublime origin and high destiny ; and, during all that dark and dismal night of oppression and unnumbered woes, that principle remained uncrushed, retained its vital activity ; and this day every negro, on every plantation, and in every humble cabin, is hearing its secret whispers. Surely we Liberians should hear and hearken to it. If any man, who has lived in Liberia two years, cannot come to believe in the ability of the negro race, under favorable circumstances, to maintain an organized, regular, and adequate government, that man has mistaken his country ; he should at once pack up bag and baggage, and transfer his residence to a more congenial clime. And I go further, and say, if any man, at all acquainted with the history of this country, does not see the hand of God plainly guiding and directing our affairs in all the past, that man would not have seen the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night before the Israelites.

It is provoking to hear men sometimes going around despising themselves and disparaging the opportunities they have for usefulness in this country ; indulging in the most doleful prophecies of the future. Such a disposition is the very kind to kill all enterprise, and to extinguish every noble aspiration. These persons have no confidence in Liberia's stability. For them, the future is nothing. They are ever looking backward to the past. They pray daily and nightly for the restoration of things as they were. For them, the sun must

always stand still, and Jordan always flow backward. These men would glory in a resuscitation of the dark ages. But those days can never return. The school-master is abroad. Light and knowledge are multiplying. The future is upon us, however we may deprecate it. We cannot prevent its advent. "The only way," says Victor Hugo, "to refuse *to-morrow*, is to die." Oh! let us bestir ourselves. Let us come to the conclusion that we will do all we can to secure for Liberia a future — glorious future. To live without such a prospect is to be dead. Where there is no future before a people, there is no hope; and where there is no hope, there is lifelessness, inactivity, and the *eternal death*.

We are engaged here on this coast in a great and noble work. We cannot easily exaggerate the magnitude of the interests involved in the enterprise to which we are committed. Not only the highest welfare of the few thousands who now compose the Republic, but the character of a whole race is implicated in what we are doing. Let us, then, endeavor to rise up to the "height of this great argument." There are times when the most thoughtless cannot but reflect on the condition of the state. Within the last two years, the most unconcerned, by his immediate wants, has been obliged to think; and we all, now and then, have misgivings as to the perpetuity of our liberties on this coast. But "Difficulty is the rude and rocking cradle of every kind of excellence;"* and it is better that these seasons of misgivings should come, than that there should be an easy tranquillity, and undisturbed self-complacency when there is so much still to be ac-

* Gladstone.

completed. Something has been done; but what is the little we have achieved compared to what has still to be done? The little of the past dwindles into insignificance before the mighty work of the future.

Das Wenige verschwindet leicht dem Blicke,
Der Vorwärts sieht wie viel noch übrig bleibt.*

We are more eagerly watched than we have any idea of. The nations are looking to see whether "order and law, religion and morality, the rights of conscience, the rights of persons, and the rights of property, may all be secured" by a government controlled entirely and purely by negroes. Oh! let us not, by any unwise actions, compel them to decide in the negative.

Descendants of Africa, in other parts of the world, have been contributing, and are now contributing, by noble deeds, to the vindication of the race. And we cannot, in this connection, refrain from referring, with admiration, to the heroic deeds of our brethren in the United States. Indeed, we should be unpardonably indifferent if we could remain silent and unmoved spectators of such heroism, unlooked for by their oppressors, as they have displayed. We feel proud of their martial deeds and their valorous demeanor. We rejoice with them in their brilliant achievements and magnificent success. They have produced a most wonderful impression upon the minds of those who formerly stigmatized them as idle, vicious, and lazy. Such has been the revolution, in public sentiment, which their prowess has achieved that, whereas in former times, a powerful tide of odium ran against the men who attempted to advocate their right to liberty,

* Goethe.

and there was a smile of general connivance, if not approbation, given to those who contended for their perpetual servitude; now, the contest is not whether the negro shall be free, but whether he shall be raised to equal political rights and privileges with his former master.

We must here also record our heartfelt sympathy with our brethren in the melancholy loss of one who was foremost among those who recognized and appreciated the valor of the negro. The name of ABRAHAM LINCOLN is engraven upon the heart of every descendant of Africa. He died for truth—for liberty—and therefore he died not only for his country, but for *mankind*. He was signalized by a worth of character, revered by all men. He died after having reached the maturity of an established reputation. His unbending rectitude, his generosity, the kind acts which he did with no *arrière pensée*, but on the spontaneous instigation of his own noble feelings, have produced universal admiration. In him, the voice of conscience spoke louder than any other consideration. We cannot imagine a more sublime attitude than he assumed, when, in Independence Hall, in 1861, his soul kindling with a sense of justice, the holy flame found vent in the memorable words:

“If this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle—I was about to say that I would rather be assassinated upon the spot than to surrender it.”

And the same unsullied integrity, which he brought from Illinois, continued with him, sustained him in his eventful career, and dignified its melancholy and tragic close. He will be known evermore as the *Great Emancipator*.

And as another token of the advance of the race, I

cannot refrain from expressing delight at the disgraceful but fitting end which has befallen the Southern Confederacy. They openly and boastfully professed that African slavery was to be the corner-stone of their new national fabric. But, as they might have known, they could never have succeeded in firmly establishing themselves. They had the united prayers of a whole race against them. Africans everywhere felt it a solemn duty to pray for their downfall. Of all communities that have ever struggled for separate national existence—that have ever claimed admittance into the family of nations—the so-called Confederate States were certainly the most hideous and unsightly; claiming, as they did, to build themselves up upon the blood and bones of a feeble people. They were the Thersites of civilization, whom Homer describes as the ugliest and most deformed of the warriors that appeared before the walls of Troy :

Αισχιστος δε ανηρ υπο Ιλιον ηλθεν
Φαλκος εην, χωλος, δ' ετερον ποδα—K. T. A.*

——“ Basest man to Troy that came,
Squint-eyed, bandy-legged, his shoulders slung ;
Bunched on his chest, while from between them sprung
His peakèd head, with scant hair sprinkled thin.”

From this monster of iniquity, the Lord has delivered his people. The horse and his rider hath He overthrown in the deep.

The parallel has often been instituted between the case of the Jews in Egypt, and that of the descendants of Africa in the United States ; and we think that the comparison is correct. Indeed, God himself, by the mouth of his holy prophet, made the comparison.

* Iliad, Book II.

“Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel, saith the Lord?” Amos 9 : 7. This is a fair and distinct comparison. And, certainly, in the wonderful preservation and multiplication of our people in the land of their bondage; in the cruel and oppressive laws made against them a little before their deliverance; in the series of astounding events attending their emancipation; in the death of the leader, with eyes undimmed, and natural force unabated, who was instrumental in bringing them out of the house of bondage; in all these particulars, they resemble the Jews. But is the parallel to stop there? Are they to sojourn in the land of their bondage? Are they to find a resting-place in the home of their oppressors? We, at least, may be permitted to doubt it. We greatly fear that should the blacks continue to dwell there, the intercourse between them and their white brethren, instead of being an intercourse of peace, and friendship, and righteousness, will be one of avarice and political injustice on the one hand, and of heart-burnings, jealousies, and discontent on the other. It is not that we wish the blacks to be forced, by any legal enactments, out of the country of their birth against their will; for we honestly believe that centuries of toil, and suffering, and bloodshed, entitle them to respectable and honorable residence in that land; and we believe that, amidst all the political and social rapacity, of which they may be the objects, they will bear themselves with the most exemplary forbearance and moderation. But we think that half the time and energy which will be spent by them in struggles against caste—in kindling a fire to consume the shirt of the assassin*—if devoted

* See Sumner's Oration on the death of Lincoln. Boston, June 1, 1865.

to the building up of a home and nationality of their own, would produce results immeasurably more useful and satisfactory. We know that the gale of public applause, which now fans them into a lustre of such splendid estimation, is evanescent and temporary; and we say to them—waiving all higher and nobler considerations—better is a lowly home, among your own people, than the most brilliant residence among strangers. We tell them, in the prudent words of old Nokomis:

“ Like the fire upon the hearthstone
Is a neighbor's homely daughter;
Like the starlight or the moonlight,
Is the handsomest of strangers.”*

Or, in the unerring words of inspiration: Better is a dinner of herbs, when surrounded by the sincere love and affection of kindred, than the stalled ox of honors and preferments, and strife therewith.

The tendency among the nations now seems to be to group themselves according to natural affinities of sentiment and race. Witness the struggles in Italy—the dreams of Mazzini and Garibaldi, with reference to the unification of that country. Germany is striving after consolidation. The same principle is at work in Hungary, and the visions of Kossuth may yet be realized. Even Poland is feeling for the same thing; and the mysterious *Fenian* movement is significant. In the Western world, Mexico and Santo Domingo are determined to assert and protect their unity and freedom. The tendency in that direction is seen everywhere. Aliens will be eliminated. The nations seem resolved that no diversities of interests shall exist among them.

* Longfellow's *Hiawatha*.

And no doubt, ere long, the conviction will force itself upon the minds of our brethren in the land of their exile, that their condition in the United States is an unnatural one. The reaction to the present state of things will doubtless come, and disappointment and irritation will ensue. Would it not be wisdom, then, in the leaders of the blacks in America, to catch at once the spirit of the age, and encourage among their people a feeling of nationality and of union ?

Here is a land adapted to us—given to us by Providence—peculiarly *ours*, to the exclusion of alien races. On every hand we can look, and say it is ours. Ours are the serene skies that bend above us; ours the twinkling stars and brilliant planets—Pleiades and Venus and Jupiter; ours the singing of the birds, the thunder of the clouds, the roaring of the sea, the rustling of the forest, the murmurs of the brooks, and the whispers of the breeze. The miry swamp, sending out disease and death, is also ours; and ours the malignant fever—all are *ours*.

“No pent-up Utica contracts our powers—
The whole boundless continent is ours.”

And here, if we would have our race honored and respected, we should try to build up a nation. “The greatest engine of moral power known to human affairs,” says Edward Everett, “is an organized, prosperous state. All that man, in his individual capacity, can do—all that he can effect by his private fraternities, by his ingenious discoveries and wonders of art, or by his influence over others—is as nothing compared with the collective, perpetuated influence on human affairs and human happiness of a well-constituted, powerful commonwealth.”

We have made a fair beginning of such a commonwealth. Here we are, with all our unfavorable antecedents, still, after eighteen years of struggle, an independent nation. We have the germ of an African empire. Let us, fellow-citizens, guard the trust committed to our hands. The tribes in the distant interior are waiting for us. We have made some impression on the coast; and, God helping us, we shall make wider and deeper impressions; and as those regions have bloomed and blossomed as the rose, whither our influence has already extended, so the regions beyond, as our influence expands, shall receive the same blessing; the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for us; until the whole land becomes the garden of the Lord. The light intrusted to us will be passed on from tribe to tribe, until we encircle the land in a glorious blaze, realizing the beautiful prophetic vision:

"I saw the expecting legions stand,
To catch the coming flame in turn;
I saw from ready hand to hand
The bright but struggling glory burn.

"And each, as she received the flame,
Lighted her altar with its ray;
Then smiling to the next which came,
Speeded it on its sparkling way."

And let us, in giving an impulse to civilization on this continent, take warning from the examples of other nations, and so demean ourselves, that Liberia may eventually take her stand among the foremost nations of the earth, "free from the blood of all men," with laurels unspotted and pure, and with a prosperity untarnished by the tears and anguish and blood of weaker races.

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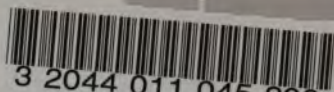
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